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
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FRAGMENT OF AN ARCHAIC ARGIVE INSCRIPTION



FIGURE 1. — ARCHAIC ARGIVE INSCRIPTION ON BRONZE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

THE bronze fragment which is here reproduced from a photograph and squeeze was found at the Argive Heraeum in April, 1895. It measures on the upper edge 0.155 m., on the lower edge 0.135 m., and in height 0.135 m. The plate,¹ which had doubtless the oblong shape of such bronzes , seems intact at the top and bottom, but is badly mutilated at the centre and has lost both ends. This inscription, which is

¹ Now in the National Museum at Athens.

shown beyond a doubt to be Argive by the provenience, the contents, and the form \mathfrak{I} , presents the best example of early writing in this dialect. The letters are impressed with care, and show little variety in form; *beta*, *phi*, and *psi* are lacking, but *zeta*¹ and *xi* appear for the first time in an Argive inscription before the fifth century B.C. The writing is boustrophedon.

The Text.—LINE 1.—The mark at the left \mathfrak{I} may belong to any one of several letters, as \mathfrak{M} , \mathfrak{V} , \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{M} , etc., but will in this paper for convenience be transcribed as *iota*.

LINE 3.—At the left the plate is broken obliquely directly after \mathfrak{M} , but the stroke \backslash was clearly discernible. This stroke must have belonged to A.

LINE 4.—The letter after K was certainly A, as the stroke \mathfrak{I} shows. The next letter, to judge by the shape of the broken plate, seems to have been a rounded one, as \oplus , but \mathfrak{I} could have been written, viz. *κα θάνατον* or *καὶ ἄνατον*.

LINE 5.—At the right the reading is certainly $\epsilon\pi\iota[\tau]\epsilon\chi\nu\hat{\omega}\iota\tau\omicron$. At the extreme left the letter before O seems to have been \mathfrak{V} or \mathfrak{T} . \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{V} and \mathfrak{T} are hardly possible, as the vertical stroke of these letters should have been nearer the mark of punctuation. \oplus or \odot would hardly have been placed so high. If probability is to be the guide, \mathfrak{V} or \mathfrak{T} may be restored.

LINE 6.—After *ππο gamma* is almost certain, for the plate will allow of no other consonant except \mathfrak{I} .

LINE 7.—At the right edge the bronze was almost entirely eaten away, and only a faint outline of the letters $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{I}$ was preserved by the dirt which had formed a crust at this point. I am positive, however, as to the letters, and my reading was confirmed by M. Homolle, who very kindly examined the plate soon after it was found.

LINE 8.—The strokes at the right, \mathfrak{N}'' , were very uncertain. After *φοι ε* the stroke \mathfrak{I} is certain, and the shape of the break indicated that \mathfrak{I} had been written, but the letter may have been \mathfrak{M} or a similar form.

¹ The archaic inscription from Hermione (?), *Rev. Arch.* 1891, p. 50, may contain an exception.

LINE 9. — At the right I was just discernible on the bronze. The letter could hardly have been Q, as the stroke is too near O. T was probably written.

LINE 10. — At the right the slanting stroke / must belong to A.

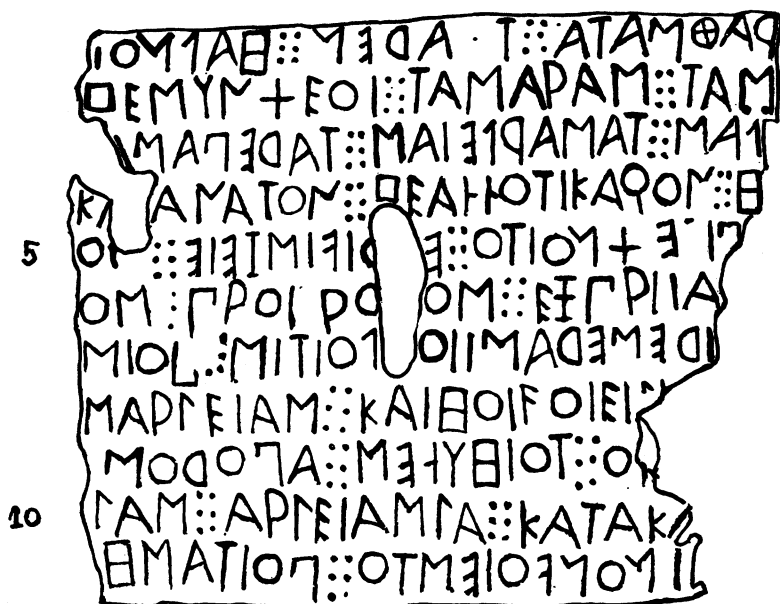


FIGURE 2. — ARCHAIC ARGIVE INSCRIPTION ON BRONZE: FACSIMILE.

- 1 *ραθματα :: τ αδεν :: χαγνοι*
hē syngchēoi :: tās ārās :: tās
γās :: tās 'Aργείας :: τὰ δὲ πάμα [viz. πάματα
κα[θ]άνατον :: hē ἄλλο τι καθόν :: h
- 5 *ἐ]πιΤεχνῶιτο :: ε)ιφισζει :: θο[θαρός or Το]ύτον*
ος .: πρό[γ]ρο[φ]ος :: ἐξπριά[σθω
α]ἰ δὲ μὴ δαμιο[ρ]γοῖ τις .: hoīs or hoι μ
τᾶς 'Aργείας :: καὶ hoι φοι ἐτ
το :: τοι Hυ(λ)λῆς :: ἀποδόμ[ενοι
- 10 *γās :: 'Aργείας γα :: κατακα*
ἄνα]ρνόν φοι ἔστω :: ποῖ tās H[ήρας.

LINE 11. — λ at the right belongs almost certainly, as the shape of the broken plate shows, to λ .

The Date. — The inscription belongs perhaps to the seventh century B.C. The alphabet is that of the oldest known Argive inscriptions. The sibilant has the oldest form, \mathcal{M} , being distinguished from μ only by the length of the fourth stroke; χ and θ have the vertical and not the oblique strokes ($+$ \oplus), while ρ and δ have the rounded (P D) instead of the angular forms. The tablet was found, together with vase fragments of the Mycenaean, Dipylon, and Proto-Corinthian styles, four feet below the surface of the ground, close to the high terrace-wall at the west of the Second Temple. On the back face of this wall is an inscription¹ with the three-bar *sigma*, but it is quite probable that the block containing this inscription had been used formerly for some other purpose. The Berlin inscription, *Arch. Ztg.* 1882, p. 385, has a more archaic appearance, but is perhaps not older, as a law written on bronze would probably exhibit more regular forms than a votive inscription on stone. Our inscription is much older than the Argive inscription, *Am. J. Arch.* XI (1896), p. 42, which has ξ , $\Lambda = \gamma$, P , $M = \mu$, is written from left to right, and belongs to the early part of the fifth century, or earlier according to Professor Richardson. The Hermione inscription, *Rev. Arch.* 1891, p. 50, and *Mon. Antichi*, 1891, pp. 593 ff., is considerably later than the fragment before us, but perhaps somewhat earlier than the one just mentioned.

The Subject. — The lines are far from complete, and some of the words preserved are enigmatical; hence it is hazardous to attempt to reproduce even the general sense of the missing portions, but this much may reasonably be inferred: "If any one [line 2 sqq.] commits a certain crime, he is to be subject to the curse; he is to be exiled from Argive territory, and his property is to be confiscated. Whoever contrives death or any other evil against (the exile or the people of Argos) is to meet with a certain kind of treatment. Certain officials are to man-

¹ *Am. J. Arch.* XI (1896), p. 57.

age the sale of the property in a specified manner. In case this duty is not performed, the tribe Hylleis is to conduct the sale. If any Argive recalls the exile, it shall be an unholy act in the sight of Hera."

The inscription, then, is a decree emanating from some high official source, and as the reading in some parts is so certain, in other parts so probable, I have felt justified in attempting to reproduce the thought of the original. In a proclamation of this kind it might be expected that the opening line would contain the familiar expression that "This is the resolution of such and such a council." The wording of these introductory formulas varied more than the meaning, as *e.g.* Aeolic *ἔγνω δᾶμος*, Attic *ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ*, Sicilian *βουλᾶς ἀλίαςμα*, Elean *ἃ φράτρα* + (dative), and Halicarnassian *τάδε ὁ σύλλο[γο]ς ἐβουλευσατ[ο] . . . ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ ἀγορῇ*. In *ραθματα* :: *τ αδεν* :: *χαγνοι* there are many points of resemblance to the words of these introductory formulas. *ἀλίαςμα* and *ρα-θμα-τα* have a similar formation and suffix, while *φρά-τρα* and *ρα-θματα* may have the same root. The wording of the Halicarnassian inscription suggests the explanation that *τ αδεν* :: *χαγνοι* may be part of the expression *τάδ' ἐν ἀγνῶ ἱαρῶ τᾶς Ἡρας*. On the other hand *αδεν* may represent Athenian *ἔδοξεν*. Resolutions were called *τὰ φεφαδηκότα* (Locris), and a decree *ἄδος* (Halicarnassus). Pindar, *Ol.* 3, 1, has the second aorist infinitive *ἀδεῖν*, and in *Ol.* 7, 17 and *Py.* 2, 96 *ἀδόντα*. These seem to be cases of Aeolic psilosis, but the smooth breathing was common enough, as in the following words from Hesychius: *ἀδῶ · ἀρέσκω : ἀέδοντα · ἀρέσκοντα : ἄδημα, ἄδισμα, ἄδμα · ψήφισμα, δόγμα. ἀδέω* of Hipponax is thus defined by Eustathius (1721, 61): *ἄδηκε βουλή, ἡγουν ἡρεσκε τὸ βούλευμα*. Hesychius has also *ἔαδεν · ἔδοξεν*, and Homer has *εὔαδεν*, but here the digamma is apparent. In view of the numerous forms with the smooth breathing, and of such Argive forms as *Ἡρας, ἱαρομνάμονες*,¹ the form *αδεν* might be taken as the third singular indicative of a secondary tense from root *αδ*, with neuter plural subject,

¹ *Am. J. Arch.* XI (1896), p. 43.

-*ραθματα*, and followed by the dative *χαγνοι*, which is an epithet either of the body adopting the resolution or of the place of adoption, as in the phrase *σεμνῶ ἐνὶ ζαπέδῳ*, *I.G.A.* 401. But *αδεν* in this inscription can hardly be connected with the root of *ἀνδάνω*, as a dialect which has *ϕ* and aspirates *ῥ* would doubtless show either *ϕ* or aspirate. However, since *ραθματα τ αδεν χαγνοι* correspond so closely in words, order, and syntax to common introductory formulas of similar decrees, I am strongly inclined to regard them as part of the opening formula and shall interpret accordingly.

The Interpretation.—**LINE 1.**—*ραθματα* is doubtless for some word which ordinarily ends in *-σμα*. Kühner-Blass, *Gr. Gr.* § 329, 30, in regard to this suffix says: “Wenn diese Suffixe (*-μος, -μα, etc.*) an vokalisch auslautende Wurzeln treten, so tritt bei späteren Wörtern oft ein *σ* zwischen Stamm und Suffix, bei alten aber ein *θ*, also *θ-μος, θ-μα, θ-μη, . . . σπά-σ-μα, ἴ-θ-μα,*” etc.¹ If the reading were *ϑ* and not *ϑ*, the word might be *δα-θ-ματα = δά-σ-ματα* (Hesychius). Blass (*Jb. Phil. Paed.* 1891, p. 559) thinks this word occurs in the archaic inscription from Hermione (or rather from Argos), but the meaning is strained, and as here there is no reason for changing the reading from *ρ* to *δ*. The bronze certainly has *ρ*. The vertical stroke *l*, to be sure, is at the extreme edge, but the impressed line was clearly visible, and accordingly *ρα-θ-ματα = ρα-σ-ματα* must be considered.² Since this form seems to be connected either directly or indirectly with *συγχέω* of line 2, its interpretation, so far as meaning is concerned, is comparatively simple. The application of *συγχέω* to a crime is so limited that it is possible to get pretty close to the thought of the original. An action against objects, not persons, is indicated, and such a crime as murder or assault cannot have been contemplated. *συγχέω* in such connection commonly relates to the defacement of objects, the erasure of letters (much as the verb in

¹ Cf. also Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* (1900), p. 75.

² The ending *-αθμα* occurs also in the Argive inscription, *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1894), p. 358, but there is no clew to the full word.

the Elean αἱ δέ τιρ τὰ γράφεα κα(δ)δαλέοιτο), and, as at Halicarnassus, to the annulment of a law or covenant. ῥάσμα (Athen.), ἀνά-βρασμα, ἀπό-βρασμα, and κεράσματα must, therefore, be rejected on account of meaning: ἀγοράσματα and δράσματα (Hesychius), are, however, possible. The former (cf. ἀγοράται·λέγει, as in Homer) might be the official utterances of the marketplace, being a form in meaning and formation kindred to Doric ἀλίασμα = δόγμα, from ἀλία = ἐκκλησία. δράσματα·συνθήματα is most appropriate here, as I believe the bronze contains a covenant between certain cities rather than the law of one state; but as the orthography is somewhat uncertain, this word can hardly be accepted. The common term for covenant is ῥήτρα; but in spite of the fact that the stem appears as α in Elean φράτρα, Cretan Ζεὺς Ὀράτριος (Cauer², 117, lines 13, 19), Sicilian Πάτωρ (C.I.G. 5739), and in the psephisma from Byzantium (Dem. 255, 21), it is unlikely that ραθματα is a formation from this stem. ἀρθμός·συνθήκη (Hesychius, epic and tragic poetry) by metathesis ῥάθμος or ῥάθμα, would give a form quite appropriate here. The term ὄθμα = ὄμμα suggested to me γράθμα = (γράφμα) γράμμα. As a matter of fact γράθμα occurs in connection with ὄθμα (*Anec. Oxon.* I, 102, 30), and curiously enough γρασμάτων is found in the archaic inscription from Hermione mentioned above. This form was regarded by Froehner (*Rev. Arch.* 1891, pp. 50 ff.) as from γράω, by Blass as standing for δασμάτων. In my opinion the form is certainly for γραμμάτων, and I notice that Robert (*Mon. Antichi*, I, pp. 594–600) holds the same view¹ and cites Ἀγαμέσμων = Ἀγαμέμνων, Μέσμων = Μέμνων. G. Meyer (*Gram.*³ 366) with much probability refers these forms to Ἀγαμέδμων and μέδομαι. In Elean ζ and δ have about the same phonetic value (G. Meyer³, 370), and in other dialects there is constant confusion between ζ, δ, σ, θ.² Compare Argive σευτέρας for ζευτέρας = δευτέρας, Laconian σιδός = θεός, σάλλει = θάλλει, ἔσηκε = ἔθηκε, παρσένος =

¹ Cf. Danielsson, *Eranos*, I, 30 sqq.

² Cf. Blass, *Aussprache d. Griech.* (English trans.), p. 108.

παρθένος, μυσιῖδω = μυθίζω (Kühner-Blass, I, 151), Gortyna πράδδεσθαι (for πράζεσθαι) = πράσσεσθαι, Cretan ὄζοι = ὄττοι, ὄσοι, Attic Ἄσμετος = Ἄδμητος, Κάσσμος = Κάδμος, Κασσμία = Καδμία, Arcadian Ὀπλοδμία and Ὀπλόσμιος. γράσσμα is, then, the intermediate step between γράμμα and γράμμα.¹ γράμμα in Thuc. V, 29, means the article of a compact; hence γ]ράθματα here may have the same force or may be the compact itself, the *ρήτρα*, — a term most suitable here and also the very term which may be repeated most acceptably with *συγχέοι* of the succeeding line. If, on the other hand, *ραθματα* is to be construed directly with *συγχέοι* and in another sense than *συνθήκη*, it would appear to have some such force as *ἔδρασμα* · *ἄγαλμα* (Suidas), or *ἰαράσματα* (by analogy with *ἀγοράσματα*) from *ἰαρός*, viz. "If any one should steal or deface (*συγχέοι*) the sacred offerings." Other words might be suggested, but further speculation is useless. It is reasonably certain that the first sentence of a public ordinance contained an equivalent to *δόγμα* or *συνθήκη*, and this term, I believe, is found in *ραθματα*.

τ αδεν. The space between τ and α was perhaps reserved for the fastening. In the archaic bronze from Hermione one hole corresponds in position to the blank space in τ αδεν, and in fact a small indentation is visible here after τ, as if an attempt had been made to puncture the plate. The bronzes from Elis exhibit great variety in the position of the holes. In some instances the nail holes are between the letters of a word, in one, *I.G.A.* 113 b, the nail apparently has been driven through a letter, — good evidence that the holes were made after the letters were cut.² Our bronze is so thin that the letters are as legible on the back as on the front, so that a sharp nail could easily be driven through the plate, and it seems therefore quite probable that the space was left for the nail

¹ So the probable series *δθμα* — **δσμα*, *δμα*: **πάθμα* — **πάσμα* (cf. Cretan *πασ-τάς* beside *πεπαμένψ*), *πάμμα* (*πολυπάμμονος*), *πᾶμα*: *στέθματα* — **στέσματα* — *στέματα*.

² Roehl thinks the bronze was nailed up before the letters were cut, but this is very improbable.

hole, but for some reason not utilized.¹ *αδεν* has been discussed above. If it is a separate word, *τ* is hard to explain. It might stand for *τ'* = *τά* and have the force of the demonstrative, as in Epic. But *τ'* = *τάδε* and *ᾗδεν* from $\sqrt{αδ} = \sqrt{φαδ}$ or $\sqrt{σφαδ}$ present so many difficulties that I prefer to take the form as *τάδ' ἐν* and the following word as a dative. The preposition should not, of course, be separated from its case by a mark of punctuation, and I am reluctant to hold that a mistake has occurred here,² although such an occurrence is not without parallels. In the Cypriote inscription, Coll. 60, 12 : 24, 25, the punctuation occurs even in a compound word, *ἐξ|ορύξη*. Compare also *ἐγ δὲ : τῆς ἀριστ[ερῆ]ς : ἐς τὴν δεξιήν* : *I.G.A.* 499, 5 ; *ἐν τῷ : πολέμῳ* : *C.I.A.* I, 433, 2 ; *ἐπὶ : νίκη* *C.I.G.* 34. In the inscription from Naupactus, *I.G.A.* 321 A, even syllables are separated, as *καταλείπον : τα*. Still more curious is the double punctuation for the nail hole in the bronze (*Jb. Phil. Päd.* 1891, p. 559), : *τᾶς* : *Ο* : *Ἀθαναίας* : . Here also the article is separated from the noun, *τὰ]ν : βωλάν* :³ ; also *ἐ τᾶς : ἀλιάσσιος* : . Even a double consonant is broken, as *X : Συνάρχοντες* (*Osann, Sylloge*, p. 55). Elision of *ε* in *τάδε* is common, so that there is no insurmountable objection to considering *τ αδεν* as *τάδ' ἐν*. *ἡγνῶι* is, then, an epithet of the sanctuary. Normally the article would be employed, but the omission hardly needs comment (cf. *ἐν ἱερῷ*, Cauer², 118, 6). Lines 223 ff. of the *Supplices* of Aeschylus perhaps deserve to be quoted here :

ἐν ἡγνῶ δ' ἐσμός ὡς πελειάδων
ἴξεσθε κίρκων τῶν ὁμοπτέρων φόβῳ.

LINE 2. — *ἡ ἰσυχέοι, τᾶς ἀρᾶς τᾶς* [

The thought here and in line 3 is quite clear. *ισυχέοι* is the last verb of a protasis stating a crime, and the punishment follows. *τᾶς* is doubtless genitive, as the accusative in Argive

¹ Cf. the blank space in *I.G.A.* 113 b, line 6.

² "Da müssen wir uns, meine ich, erinnern dass die alten Broncen, so die lokrischen und die eleischen, auch sonst recht fehlerhaft sind." Blass, *Jb. Phil. Päd.* 1891, p. 559.

³ Not so in *Mon. Ant.* I, p. 594.

shows the nasal form *τάνς*. The use of the article indicates some well-known curse which seems not to have been written on the bronze. The phraseology here corresponds most closely to the following formulas: *αἱ δέ τιρ τὰ γράφεια ταῖ κα(δ)δαλέοιτο . . . , ἐν τῇπιάροι κ' ἐνέχοιτο τῷ ἵναυτ' ἐγρα(μ)μένοι, I.G.A. 110 (Elis); τὸ]ν νόμον τοῦτον ἦν τις θέλῃ [συν]χέαι ἢ προθήτα[ι] ψῆφον . . . , τὰ ἐόν[τα] αὐτοῦ πεπρήσθω καὶ τῶπόλλων[ος] εἶναι ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτὸν φεύγειν ἀ[ιεῖ]* (Halicarn.). For protasis compare *ὅς ἂν τὰ(ς) στήλας, ἐν ἱσιν ἡπαρὴ γέγραπται, ἢ κατὰξει ἢ φοινικία ἐκκόψῃ[ι] ἢ ἀφανέας ποιήσῃ, I.G.A. 497*. The sentence may be thus restored: *αἱ δέ τις ταῦτα (viz. τὰ γράφεια or γράβματα or τάνς στάλας) λύσαι] ἢ συνχέοι, τὰς ἀρὰς τὰς [κειμένας — or ἐν τὰν στάλαν γεγρα(μ)μένας — ἔνοχος ἔστω, καὶ αὐτὸς τρέτω or φευγέτω ἐκ] γὰς τὰς Ἀργείας· τὰ δὲ πᾶμ[ατα αὐτῷ πεπράσθω καὶ τὰς θεῶ ἔστω ἡιარά*. The word for 'property' is doubtless *πάματα*, which occurs in a later Argive inscription published by Professor J. R. Wheeler, *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1894), p. 358, who cites various forms of the word.

LINE 4.—The reading may be *καὶ ἄνατον*, but is doubtless *κα θάνατον*. The thought here is comparatively clear, but the person plotted against is uncertain. *κα* is puzzling. In Cyprian *κα* = *καί*, and also stands for *κατά*. It does not seem here to stand for *καί*, and apparently is not for *κατά*, viz. *κά(θ)θάνατον* (cf. *κάθθανε, καθθέμεν*) as in *τοῖστραταγοῖς*, etc. *κα* must, I think, be taken with the optative *ἐπι[τ]εχνῶιτο* of the following line. The solecistic use of the optative with *κα* might perhaps be explained by the distance between the two words. But the optative with *κα* in protasis is said to occur in the inscription from Ozolian Locris (*I.G.A. 322, 4*): *αἱ κἀδίκω(ς) συλῶ*, but *κἀδίκως* may here stand for *καὶ ἀδίκως*, and has been so explained. The use of *κε* with the optative in protasis is found in Homer, but is a rarity in the inscriptions. In the Hermione inscription already mentioned, we have, after an optative in protasis, the elliptical expression *αἱ δέ κα μή*; but it is quite likely, I think, that our *κα* is part of *ποκά* = *ποτέ*: "If any one should at any time contrive," etc. Line 4 possibly

continues the penalty of the preceding: αἰ δέ τις πο[κ[α θ]άνατον ἢ ἄλλο τι καθὼν ἡ[οτιῶν τῶι ταῦτα πεποιθηκότι ἐπι- [τ]εχνῶιτο, ε . . ιφισζειε, [Ϝ]ο[θαρός ἔστω καὶ ἀζάμιος.¹ On the other hand the sentence may contain the main thought of the law, which associates in Draconian fashion a murderer and any other transgressor, and pronounces the same penalty on each. An inscription from Teos, *I.G.A.* 497, line 25, contains a similar association. "The poisoner, the one who obstructs the importation of grain or disobeys an official, the traitor, the highway robber, the pirate, and whoever [τι κ]ακὸν βουλεύοι περὶ Τ[η]ῶν τοῦ ξυνοῦ εἰδὼς π[ρὸς] "Ελληνας ἢ πρὸς βαρβάρους, ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνου." This sentence, then, may contain the law of an Argive Draco: αἰ δέ τις πο[κ[α θ]άνατον ἢ ἄλλο τι καθὼν ἡ[ἀτινι μηχανᾷ ἢ τέχνα τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπι[τ]εχνῶιτο κτλ.

LINE 5. — :: ε ιφισζειε :: is at first sight obscure. One may evolve here ἡ φοι ϖῖς (Γῖς · ἰσχύς Hesychius) ζείε (*ζῆμι), forms which recall the Homeric line οὐδὲ φοι ᾗν ϖῖς οὐδὲ βίη (*Od.* 18, 3), but the punctuation indicates one word or some closely related words. The last three letters, ειε, suggest an optative, which seems, however, to be neither the conclusion of the preceding protasis nor a continuation of ἐπιτεχνῶιτο. In the latter case the first ε should be aspirated, viz. ἡή as above; in the former case καά should appear. The lack of the aspirate is of course not a fatal objection, as its use in Argive (as seen above) is not always in accord with expectations; but there should be consistency in the same inscription, and ἡή should appear. A wish is hardly possible here, and I suspect therefore an expression supplementary to the preceding, as "If any one should contrive death or any other evil — as he may have strength — wherever he may be living — in whatever way he may know of," or a parenthetical statement, such as "If any one should contrive death — in sooth should he know of it," viz. if he be an accomplice. In such statements concerning crimes the word εἰδὼς is found, and ϖειζῶς of Elis affords a

² For the conclusion cf. *Coll.* 213, 19: ἀ δὲ πόλις ἀνάτιος καὶ ἀζάμιος ἔστω.

clew to the solution of this abnormal form. ἴσαμι·ἐπίσταμαι Συρακούσιοι (Hesychius) like γοίδημι is probably a late formation, but the plural forms ἴδμεν, ἴστε, and ἴσασι, Homeric *φιδυῖα*, (cf. G. Meyer², 631), the middle ἴδμαι and *φίσαμεν(αι)·εἰδέναι* (Hesych.) justify the association of *φισζειε* with *εἰδείη*. Concerning σζ for ζ, G. Meyer³, 303, says: "Ein etwas älterer Ausdruck für den stimmhaften Zischlaut ist σζ, sowohl für ζ wie in alt arg. *δικάσζοιτο, ἐπεψή]φισζεν* C.I.A. II, 325 a, 5, *θυσιάσζειν* C.I.A. III, 73, *Θεόσζοτος* Coll. 1043, als auch für weiches σ wie *ἐνδέσζμους, ἀναβασζμούς, Ἐρασζμία, χρῆσζμόν*." ¹ Accordingly *φισζειε* is an Argive form of *εἰδείη*, but there is some difficulty in determining its exact relation to the sentence. The forms before *φισζειε* may represent the familiar *ἦτινι μηχανῇ*, viz. *ἐν ᾧ* or *ἐφ' ᾧ* *εἰδείη* (= *ἐν ᾧ τρόπῳ εἰδείη*), or more likely *ἦτοι εἰδείη*, "In truth should he know of the evil deed," a statement parenthetical to the preceding. What follows was in meaning either *γοθαρὸς ἔστω καὶ ἀζάμιος* or *τοῦτον θανατῶν καὶ τὸ γένος*.

LINE 6. — This prescribes the manner in which the property of the exile is to be sold. The reading after -ος was doubtless *πρό[γ]ρο[φ]ος ἐξπριά[σθω]*. The spelling *γροφος* for *γραφος* needs no comment. The writing of O over A in the Argive inscription I.G.A. 38, *γ]ροφο-* may, however, be noted. The punctuation before *πρό[γ]ρο[φ]ος* shows that the preceding -ος is not part of the article *τούς*, which form, moreover, would be *τόνς*. *πρό[γ]ρο[φ]ος* is, then, nominative, and explanatory probably of the preceding word, which is the title of the official who is to manage the property. From the verb *δαμιο[ρ]γοῖ*, line 7, it may be inferred that the title was *δαμιοργός*, a word which occurs in a later Argive inscription (I.G.A. 30).² The official might also be *ὁς ἔχων μέγιστον τέλ[ος]*. The meaning of *πρό[γ]ρο[φ]ος* is by no means clear. The word, so far as I know, does not elsewhere occur, but *προγράφω* and *προγραφή*

¹ It is quite probable that the sibilant in Greek represented two different sounds. Cf. Lagercrantz *Zur griech. Lautgeschichte*, p. 105.

² At least it has been with probability so restored.

are common. In later writers these words refer especially to the confiscation of property. The verb means (Lidd. and Scott) "to proclaim an auction," "to sell at auction," "to write at the head of the list." Here $\pi\rho\acute{o}[\gamma]\rho o[\phi]o\varsigma$ seems to mean "written at the head of the list." The *demiorgos* is to have the privilege of buying the property, if he wishes, the proceeds to go into the sacred treasury. The μ in $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\pi\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}[\sigma\theta\omega$ and $\delta\alpha\mu\iota o[\rho]\gamma o\acute{\iota}$ confirms the correctness of the double *iota* in $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota o\varsigma \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ on the Heracles relief from Olympia (cf. Roehl, *I.G.A.* 34, " ι male iterata est"), and strengthens Bergk's hypothesis (*Ztschr. f. Numis.* XI, p. 332) of a relation between Pamphylian and Argive. The doubling of the vowel occurs here only before a vowel, and the same is true of Pamphylian, as in $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}, \iota\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}$. The ξ before π is not uncommon. In Ar. *Pax* 631 occurs $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\mu\nu o\nu$; Soph. fr. 876 b, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$; in Attic inscriptions, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\pi o\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$ as well as $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi o\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$. The reading may be thus restored: $\tau\acute{\alpha} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega} \hbar o \delta\alpha\mu\iota o\rho\gamma]o\varsigma \pi\rho\acute{o}[\gamma]\rho o[\phi]o\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\xi\pi\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}[\sigma\theta\omega \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{o} \delta\alpha\mu\acute{o}\sigma\iota o\nu, \alpha\acute{\iota} \beta\acute{\omega}\lambda o\iota\tau o$.

LINES 7 and 8. — $a]i \delta\acute{\epsilon} \mu\grave{\eta} \delta\alpha\mu\iota o[\rho]\gamma o\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\varsigma$, "If the office of *demiorgos* is vacant at the time," $\hbar o\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ [$\acute{\epsilon}\eta \tau\acute{\alpha} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\alpha \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota o\varsigma \tau] \acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ 'Αργείας, — "the highest officers of the Argive state may buy the property," — $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \hbar o\acute{\iota} \phi o\iota \acute{\epsilon}[\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\tau\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\iota\epsilon\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$, — "and (in competition with) the next of kin." In regard to the reading $\hbar o\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, although the plate showed \mathbf{M} , this form must not be insisted upon to the exclusion of \mathbf{M} (μ), as the plate is broken cleanly on the fourth stroke. The clause may then read: $\hbar o\acute{\iota} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\chi o\nu\tau\iota$, as in the Elean inscriptions, *I.G.A.* 109, $\delta\rho\tau\iota\rho \tau\acute{o}\kappa\alpha \theta\epsilon o\kappa o\lambda[\acute{\epsilon} o\iota$ and *I.G.A.* 112, $\alpha\acute{\iota} \zeta\acute{\epsilon} \mu\grave{\eta}\pi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\nu \tau\acute{\alpha} \zeta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha, \delta\rho \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau o\nu \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda o\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\chi o\iota \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau o\acute{\iota} \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\varsigma$. But in most expressions of this sort the uniform reading is that "in case a certain official is derelict in the performance of his duty, he shall suffer the same penalty as the transgressor." So $a]i \delta\acute{\epsilon} \mu\grave{\eta} \delta\alpha\mu\iota o[\rho]\gamma o\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\varsigma \hbar o\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (viz. $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi o\iota\varsigma \hbar o\acute{\iota}\varsigma$) $\hbar o \nu\acute{o}\mu o\varsigma \kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\epsilon\iota, \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu \phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}] \varsigma$ 'Αργείας. On the other hand $\hbar o\iota\phi o\iota$ may be a dative, as in the Cypriote inscription, Coll. 59, $\beta, \acute{\alpha}\phi' \acute{\omega}\iota\phi o\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\chi\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\upsilon\chi\epsilon$, or $o\acute{\iota}\phi o\iota = o\acute{\iota}\phi$ (alone), Coll.

60, 14. Compare also *εοῖ αὐτῷ* Hom. *Od.* 4, 38, *ἐν αὐτῷ*, Gortyna, I, 40, and Apoll. Dysc. *de pron.*, p. 106 (Bekk.), who quotes from Hesiod, *ἐν δ' αὐτῷ θανάτου ταμίας*. Regarded as a dative, the reading would continue the penalty inflicted on the guilty official: *καὶ ἥωι φοι εἴμεν μηδαμὰ κάθοδον αἰφεῖ*. But *φοι* of line 11 is against this supposition.

Line 9 may have read *αἱ δὲ μὴ βώλουντ]ο, τοὶ Ην(λ)λῆς ἀποδόμ[ενοι τὰ πάματα ἐνβαλλέντω (δόντω) ἐν τῷ δαμόσιον τὰν ὠνάν*, "In case the next of kin do not desire (to purchase the property), the tribe Hylleis shall sell it and turn the proceeds into the treasury."

LINE 10. — *γα* is apparently the Doric form of *γε*. Its use after *γᾶς Ἀργείας* indicates that the jurisdiction of the council (?) is limited. Persons outside of Argos may treat the outlaw as they please, but the inhabitants of the Argive land at least are not to recall him.

LINE 11. — *ποι* is probably the preposition. It stands for *ποτί*, according to the *Et. Mag.*: *παρὰ Ἀργείοις ἀντὶ τοῦ ποτί. ἀφαιρέσει τοῦ τ, εἶτα συνόδω. τας* must be the genitive *τᾶς*. *γ]νον* is perhaps part of *ἀναγνον* or *στυγνόν*. The thought here is similar to the thought in Coll. 60, 29, *ὅπισίς κε τὰς φρήτας τάσδε λύση, ἀνοσίγα φοι γένοιτν*. These two lines may have read something as follows: *αἱ δὲ τις] γᾶς (τᾶς) Ἀργείας γα κατακ[αλέοι τὸν τρέσαντα (φεύγοντα) ἐν γᾶν τὰν Ἀργείαν, ἀναγ]νόν φοι ἔστω ποῖ τᾶς Η[ήρας*.

The Source of the Inscription. — The law is clearly Argive, but does not in my opinion emanate from the city of Argos. A law passed by the people of Argos might, to be sure, be set up in the Heraeum, but we know that important laws were kept in the agora. Compare *Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐν πόλει, Ἀργείους δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ ἱερῷ*, Thuc. V, 47. As to the government of the city, we learn from Hdt. VII, 148–49, that there was a king and council, and from Paus. II, 19, that the Argives very early reduced the kingly power so low that nothing but the title of king remained. The Boule probably did not hold sessions in the Heraeum, but the epithet *λαγνοὶ* can

hardly refer to anything but the sanctuary where the bronze was found. The inscription then, I infer, is a compact between Argos and the other towns of the Argolid. The mention of Tiryns and Mycenae on the famous column at Delphi, and the destruction of both cities by the Argives shortly after the Persian wars, prove that the cities were in a measure — if not wholly — independent of Argos at the time of this statute. The Heraeum was the common sanctuary of the three cities,¹ and naturally was the meeting-place for the regulation of matters of common concern. It is quite possible that transgressors had fled from one to another of these towns, and that the present statute is the result of a conference to remedy this state of affairs. Two kinds of criminal action are indicated, one by *συγγέοι*, the other by *θ]άνατον ἐ[πι-τεχνῶιτο*. Either one may represent the main provisions of the compact, but in my opinion the fragment contains an ordinance relative to personal violence, which was preceded by the penalty in store for those who in any way tampered with or sought to annul its provisions. It is well, perhaps, to repeat that my conception of the first line has been determined by the similarity of *ραθματα τ αθεν λαγνοι* in words, order, and syntax to common introductory formulas. Since what we have is so like what is wanted and what is so often found in the first line of such laws, there seems sufficient reason for insisting on this interpretation.

The Restoration. — It is easy to fill out the lines, but for this reason exceedingly difficult to restore the original reading. Something unique and a little disconnected perhaps stood in the original, and there is therefore little hope of getting at the exact reading. The bronze was doubtless damaged by the burning of the Old Temple. Where so much has gone up in smoke, it is not to be expected that very substantial results will be obtained by groping about after the missing portions. The following restorations, therefore, are offered merely as a help toward the interpretation of the difficult forms.

¹ Cf. Dr. Waldstein's view (*Class. Rev.* 1900, pp. 473 f.) of the relation of the Heraeum to the neighboring cities.

FIRST RESTORATION

ἡὰ βωλὰ ἐποιήσατο τὰ ^δγάθματα τάδ' ἐν ἡαγνῶι [ἡιαρῶι τὰς Ηήρας. Αἱ δ-
 ἔ τις ταῦτα καταλύει]ἡή συγχέοι, τὰς ἀρὰς τὰς [ἐν ταῖ στάλαι αὐτὸς μὲν
 ἔνοχος ἔστω καὶ τρέτω ἐκ]γὰς τὰς Ἀργείας· τὰ δὲ πὰμ[ατα αὐτῷ πεπράσθω ἐν
 τὰν θεάν. Αἱ δὲ τίς πο[κ[α θ]άνατον ἡή ἄλλο τι καὶ ὄν ἡ[οτιῶν ἡή Ἀργείοις ἡή Τι-
 5 ρυνθίοις ἡή Μυκανήσι ἐ]πι[τ]εχνῶιτο — ἡ[το]ι φισζέλη — [τ]ο[ῦτον¹ θανατῶν καὶ τὸ
 γένος· ἡο δὲ δαμιοργ]ὸς πρὸ[γ]ρο[φ]ος ἐξπριά[σθω τὰ πάματα αὐτῷ ἐν ἡι-
 ἀρὸν θησανρόν, αἱ βώλοιο. Α]ἱ δὲ μὴ δαμιο[ρ]γοῖ τις ἡοῖς [ἡο νόμος κελεύει φοι² — or ἡῶι μ[ὰν κτλ.
 αὐτὸς τρέτω ἐκ γὰς τὰ]ς Ἀργείας· καὶ ἡοῖ φοι ἐ[γγύτατα εἶεν γένει ἐξπ-
 ριάσθων. Αἱ μὴ βώλοιντ]ο, τοῖς Ηυ(λ)λῆς ἀποδόμ[ενοι τὰ πάματα δόντω
 10 ταῖ θεῶι. Αἱ δὲ τίς ποκα]γὰς Ἀργείας γα κατακ[α]λέοι τὸν ἐξελαθέντα
 ἡή προθεῖτο ψᾶφον, ἀναγ]νόν φοι ἔστω ποῖ τὰς Η[ήρας.

TRANSLATION

The council adopted the following covenant in the sacred precinct of Hera. If any one should destroy or deface these covenants, he shall be subject to the curse that is written on the stelé, shall be exiled from the Argive land, and his property shall be sold for the benefit of the goddess. If any one should at any time contrive death or any other evil whatsoever against the Argives or Tirynthians or the people of Mycenæ — in truth should he know of it — he shall die and his (immediate) family. The demi-orgos is to have the precedence (at the head of the list) in the purchase of the exile's property for the benefit of the sacred treasury if he so desires. In case some one should not perform his public duty, as the law prescribes, he too shall flee from the Argive land. And the nearest of the surviving kindred of the exile shall buy the property. But if they do not wish to, the tribe Hylleis, having sold it, shall give the proceeds to the goddess. If any one from the Argive land should at any time recall the banished man, or should offer a vote to that effect, it shall be an unholy act in Hera's sight.

SECOND RESTORATION

φράτρα βωλᾶς. Αἱ τις τὰ ^{ια}γάθματα τάδ' ἐν ἡαγνῶι [ἡιαρῶι τὰς Ηήρ-
 as ἡή ἐκκόπτοι]ἡή συγχέοι, τὰς ἀρὰς τὰς [κειμένας αὐτὸς μὲν ἔνο-
 χος ἔστω καὶ φευγέτω ἐκ]γὰς τὰς Ἀργείας· τὰ δὲ πὰμ[ατα αὐτῷ τὰς θεῶ
 ἔστω. Αἱ δὲ τίς πο[κ[α θ]άνατον ἡή ἄλλο τι καὶ ὄν ἡ[οτιῶν τῶι ταῦτα πεποιμη-
 5 κῶτι αὐτὸς ἡή δι' ἄλλω ἐ]πι[τ]εχνῶιτο ἐ[ν ὧ]ι φισζέλη [ῶ]ο[ῦθαρος ἔστω πάν-
 τα· ἡο δὲ δαμιοργ]ὸς πρὸ[γ]ρο[φ]ος ἐξπριά[σθω τὰ πάματα αὐτῷ ἐν τὸ
 δαμόσιον, αἱ βώλοιο. Α]ἱ δὲ μὴ δαμιο[ρ]γοῖ τις, ἡοῖ μ[έγιστα τέλεα ἐ-
 χοντι πόλιος τὰ]ς Ἀργείας καὶ ἡοῖ φοι ἐ[γγύτατα εἶεν ἐν γένει ἐξ-
 πριάσθων. Αἱ μὴ βώλοιντ]ο, τοῖς Ηυ(λ)λῆς ἀποδόμ[ενοι δόντω ἐν τ-
 10 ᾶν θεάν. Αἱ δὲ τις]γὰς Ἀργείας γα κατακ[α]λέοι τὸν τρέσαντα ἡή
 ψαφίστοι κατακαλέεν, στνγ]νόν φοι ἔστω ποῖ τὰς Η[ήρας.

JAMES DENNISON ROGERS.

¹ Or [τ]ο[ῦ] θάνατος ἔστω κτλ.² Or ἡοῖς [προστέτακται κτλ.